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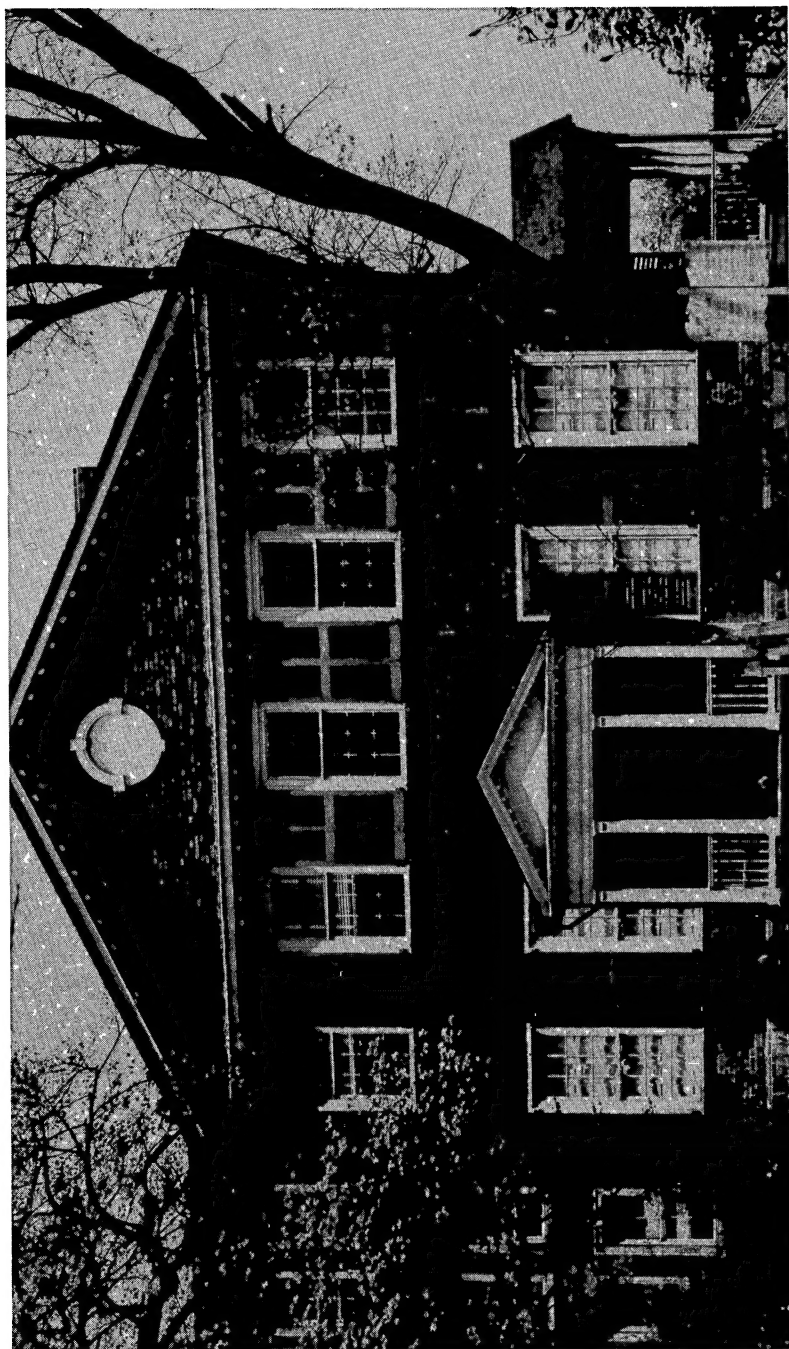
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Home of Chief Justice John Marshall, Richmond, Virginia.
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THE TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES OF THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIAN

Robert H. Garbee

This really is a sentimental journey for me because some twelve years ago this month, I was assigned for a six-week period as the construction supervisor for Spencer Hall and the group of buildings at Mary Baldwin College at that time under construction. So for the six weeks of that Spring, I commuted each day to Staunton. And since it's this time of year, I particularly enjoyed the drive up this afternoon. Thank you for the introduction. As I sat here I realized that during the course of the evening I would be making reference to some of our architectural commissions, and it occurred to me that it might be helpful to you to know or to have some knowledge of the projects and of my professional experience. I'm an associate of an architectural firm that bears the name of its founder and principal, J. Edward Fauber, Jr., FAIA Architect, of Lynchburg, Virginia. Mr. Fauber was, so to speak, in Williamsburg when they turned the first shovel full of earth. And throughout his long career, he has kept a special interest in historical restoration and historical preservation. Our practice has encompassed an area which geographically extends from Jekyll Island in Georgia to New Castle, Maine, where we are currently working on what is called the oldest Catholic church in the United States in continuous use, and, westward to the banks of the Mississippi. We've been associated with many buildings. Some of them well-known, such as Gunston Hall or the Owen Thomas House in Savannah, Georgia, or the Governor Blunt Mansion in Knoxville, Tennessee and some of them not so well-known as their character and quality would warrant. But two buildings I should single out because they are projects from which a majority of this material has been taken. The first is the Octagon House in Washington, built just before 1800 by John Taylor. John Taylor of Mount Airy was one of the wealthiest men in America following the Revolution. He built his Washington Townhouse on a lot which was selected for him by his friend, George Washington. They tell the story that Col. Taylor, who lived at his country home at Mount Airy, thought it would be well for his family to have the benefit of the social contacts with the Congress when in session. And conse-

quently asked someone to procure for him a house in Philadelphia, and was told since the Capitol would be moved, he'd be well advised to wait until the site had been located for building such a townhouse. It was his intention to build a house even finer than the White House, which was under construction at the same time, and in some respects, the Octagon House may well have been. It actually served as the White House for a brief period. During the War of 1812, when the British burned the capitol, the Madisons were allowed to use the Octagon as their residence for a brief period. The famous Treaty of Ghent, ending that war, was signed in the circular room on the second floor, generally referred to now as the Treaty Room, and the circular table was the family table on which that treaty was signed, has been returned to that room. Mrs. Taylor, who was the daughter of Governor Ogle of Maryland, succeeded her husband and lived in the house until her death in 1853. And the building remained in the possession of the Taylor family until around 1900 when it was acquired by the American Institute of Architects, for use as their national headquarters. And several years ago, when the architects decided to build a new modern office building to better meet their needs, we were very deeply honored to be selected by the American Institute of Architects Committee to undertake the research and the restoration of so important a building as the Octagon House.

And the other project which I should mention especially, is the John Marshall House in Richmond. It was built by the great Chief Justice at the end of the 1780's, and like the Octagon has had essentially only two owners. After Judge Marshall's death, the home remained in his family until the early years of this century when it was acquired by the City of Richmond. It is still owned by the City of Richmond and is administered by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.

Now we, as architects, do schools and banks and firehouses, we have found a certain amount of money is absolutely essential if we wish to remain in business. However, our restoration work is our pleasure and I certainly feel very fortunate to have the opportunity for doing such interesting work. What sets the restoration architect and restoration work apart? Research in which, in the case of my own firm, I am particularly proud. For convenience we divide research in three phases. First, documentary research. Second, archeology. And third, architectural investigation. I once thought that I would list all possible sources of

architectural information, but now I notice there are too many. In fact, from my experience, I think now I would find it difficult to name any source which could not potentially provide architectural information. One of the earlier sources which you are all familiar, of course, is the description of Solomon's Temple in the Bible. Certainly the completeness and the accuracy of that description exceed the agreement between the owner and the contractor for the majority of contract built houses constructed today. And one of the most unusual sources that I have ever known is the obituary column. I have lost the article, unfortunately, but I think this antidote is told about a large house in New York State to which a Greek revival portico had been added. And since it had been decided to restore the home as it was during the lifetime of the original owner and builder, the question arose as to whether or not the portico might remain or whether it should be removed. And the usual examination and research did not produce a conclusion. Until one day when someone was reading an article about the original owner's death, the article noted that at the death of the original owner the portico columns had been draped in black. Which established conclusively that the portico had been added by the original builder and should remain.

For the most part, 18th and early 19th century buildings we can list as examples as sources: family records and public records. By family records I refer to genealogies, family papers, Bible records, letters. For public records, we think of deeds and wills, court records of litigation, tax records, real property, personal property. For example, a personal property tax was imposed in 1815 to pay the cost of the War of 1812, that tax list was taken in great detail and those for Richmond are preserved in the Virginia State Library. The one for John Marshall is particularly fascinating. It establishes for instance, that John Marshall's personal property placed him in the top 2% of the population of Richmond in 1815. And gives us a great wealth of detailed information about possessions in the Marshall house. The listings are absolutely wonderful, for instance they describe murals of a certain size with one value, and a larger size. John Marshall had one in the smaller size, he didn't own any of the larger ones. Curtains, draperies are described. And not only is this list useful, it tells you what Marshall owned, but because of the ledger manner in which the list was made, the big fat zeros tell you what he didn't have. The John Marshall house

in 1815 had no draperies of damask or silk. The only curtains listed on his personal property tax were three pairs of dimity curtains presumably in Mrs. Marshall's bedroom. Other sources, similar to public records, for instance, are the insurance policy records. The Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia was founded in 1795. And Marshall's Richmond House, for instance, was insured in one of their earlier policies. Those policies had clats on the outbuildings, the kitchens, the law offices and because buildings more than 30 feet distance from the main house were considered to be free from the danger of fire from another building. They kept in notes whether or not the distances between buildings were upwards of 30 feet. Consequently we can get very accurate information not only as to the kitchens, the law offices, the laundry building, the smoke houses, the ice houses, but a fairly good indication of where those buildings were if they are no longer standing, from these insurance policy records.

Of course, newspapers are a particularly valuable source. John Teiss, who formerly was with the National Trust, and at that time curator of Decator house in Washington, compiled a list of furnishings available in Washington at the time the Decator house was built and constructed from newspaper ads. And the impression you get from rifling through this file is that at that time everything imaginable under the sun of elegant furnishings and materials available in Europe were for sale on the dock in Alexandria and available at the stores in Washington. I don't think we generally have the impression of such a great variety of decorative items that were generally available at that time. In our own office, for instance, we are compiling a list of tradespeople who were working in Lynchburg in the early years, cabinetmakers, stonecutters, and masons. Contemporary traveler counts can provide a great deal of information. I think one of the most interesting is Mrs. Ann Newport Royal, whose Black Book is frequently consulted in Lynchburg because she spent some time there. Mrs. Royal, I presume, can be classified as the original gossip columnist. And I suspect strongly that she was the inventor of much of contemporary public relations. And I don't know exactly how you describe it, but I think she also enjoyed some remuneration from her kind mention. But I think you can tell pretty well whether or not she paid her bill at the hotel by what she said about the owner. If his was the meanest, nastiest, dirtiest hotel with the poorest food in the world, you can be confident that she was asked to pay her bill. And if she

described the food as being absolutely wonderful and the innkeeper of the kindest personality in the view of the best in the countryside, I think you can be fairly confident that she was the guest of the house. Mrs. Royal came to Lynchburg and she gave us a great service by describing the then new and remarkable waterworks which lifted water from the James River to the heights of the city. And her description of the waterworks is so detailed and so complete, that I have no doubt that that pumping mechanism and the system could be accurately reconstructed today from her description. She had a very wonderful eye, a very keen observance and we know from portraits that her description of men's eyes, the color of their eyes, and the color of their hair is accurate, although greatly exaggerated. She went to Richmond for the Constitutional Convention when John Marshall was quite an old man, and I would gather that she had known and written about him when he was on the bench in Washington, for her comment about him in Richmond was a passing note which said only that she called on John Marshall who was "courteous and gentle as ever, he lives in the plainest house I ever saw."

A second phase of research is archeology. There really is no limit to what archeology can tell us. There are friends of Mr. Noel Hume and those who read his many books know. Archeology at its finest supports and confirms of the aspects of the research program, and one of the best examples I know is the case of the John Marshall House portraits. Those of you who know the John Marshall house in Richmond know that the porches are rather curiously proportioned. The Marshall Street side to the porch on the Marshall Street side, for instance, extends slightly over the windows on either side and for many years people thought that the porches were a later addition. We had determined that the porches were built at approximately the same time as the main body of the house itself. We had some fragments of accounts some other documentary evidence that led us to that conclusion. When Mr. J. C. Harrington in an archeological dig proved conclusively that the porches were probably what we would call to be a change order, they were built at the same time the house was built, but not as part of the original construction. Their footings went down below what had been the original yard grade, very clearly so before the first grading ever done to level the yard around the house. And it did not bond in with the foundation indicating that they were added after the foundation to the house itself had been built.

The character and type of the soil had the footing made it abundantly clear that as Marshall's house was finished and perhaps I had determined from their research that they had moved in the summer of 1790, probably in June of 1790, I can well imagine his elegant James River style house without porches when the first summer thunderstorm hit and water washed under the door. And he said, "Look, you know, we've got to have some porches to keep the rain out of these doors." And they were probably built before the fall.

For our third phase, we have an extremely useful, an important technique of the architectural historian, which I shall call, for lack of a better term, architectural investigation. We are not even in agreement in our offices to what we should call this phase. I think if we were really clever, particularly in this day of jocoseness, that we could come up with some catchy title for it. By any title, the work is simply a skillful observation of the building itself. Simple, only in theory, however, this work requires great knowledge, experience, and I think most important of all, certain personality. The ideal person would have the inquisitiveness of a detective and attention for detail that would make Sherlock Holmes look like an amateur. Another example in passing might be the John Marshall House stair, which as you remember, sits rather oddly in its space. There are three runs, and two landings, that doesn't quite fill the stair-hall space. It leaves a very small room behind it and for many years people thought that the stair had either been relocated within the house, or even possibly that it had been located in some other building and moved into this house at the time it was built. There were as many rumors concerning the main stairs as there are guides and hostesses in the house, I'm confident. So we removed the plaster from beneath the stair to make an examination, and it really was one of the most interesting and conclusive observations I think we have been able to make on a problem which had as many questions and as many possibilities as that stair did.

First of all, the plaster we removed was good hair plaster, with animal hair in it. The laths were hand-split with hand-made nails. There was no question in what we were going through was a surface which would have been intact such as the house was built in 1790. We found that in the thickness of the stair on the exterior wall that the inside of the brick wall had never been plastered. Where the stair ran up beside the wall, there was the exposed brick. With plaster in the hall above com-

ing down to the steps and finally to the room below going up to it, indicating that that stair had never been in any other location in that building. Then we examined the stair construction itself and very carefully examined the risers and the treads and the pieces of wood that make up the stair, and we found not a nail hole other than the hole—the nail holes which were filled with the nails in place, indicating the stair had been installed at one time and had never been tampered with since. So that whatever you might think of this stair as an artistic work, it nonetheless is the one, the only main stair that was put into John Marshall's house when he built it and has been there ever since.

I mentioned the hand-made nails. Nailcrynology in itself is a very special and a very fascinating field. There was so much development in the making of nails between 1780-1790 and 1840 that some people who have worked with them a great deal can look at a nail and tell you within 10 years when that nail was made. I had the privilege of working the spring before last in Philadelphia with the National Park Service, Department of the Interior the National Park Service, Office of Architectural Restoration, they have quite a good laboratory there. And I showed them some nails I had removed from a house called Fancy Farm on the east slopes—on the east slope of the Peaks of Otter. And the man immediately said, you know, they look like nails made by Jefferson's nail machine, after all he bought an old nail machine when he started his nail manufacturing in Monticello. And of course, it's quite possible Jefferson having had a second home or summer home on top of the forest, just west of Lynchburg, this building is practically in site of there, that some nails that Mr. Jefferson made at Monticello might have gotten down there and I think it's perfectly remarkable that a man could look at the nail and suggest where it came from. I really admit he confused me a bit by looking at some nails from a house in Lynchburg we believe was built in 1815 and saying, "No, these match the Moore house in Yorktown."

Paint research is a very special and very interesting field. One of the most fascinating aspects of our work in itself could be a subject for an entire evening. You not only can count the layers of paint, well, you can do so many things by identifying the numbers of coats of paint on certain pieces of wood within a building. But a general knowledge of the paint industry can add even more information. For instance, if you scrape down and find meridian green, we happen to know that that wasn't made

commercially available in the United States until after 1860. So if someone has a pre-revolutionary house with the original coat of paint on it, and it's meridian green, you either assume that it spent many years in an unpainted state or it's not quite as old as the owner thinks it is.

Now I think all of these points might be made clear by an example which is now for me a special point of interest. And that is heating by coal fires. At the Octagon the fireplace was fitted at the time we started our work with Victorian coal grates. I know of no part of any building that today has been more tampered with than the fireplaces. Quite naturally, as improvements in heating were made, the owners who had the means would want the most modern devices so that they progressed from large fireplaces with burning logs to fireplaces with burning coal and then smaller fireplaces for burning harder coal, then patented fireplaces, like Franklin stoves and on through the whole progression. Things called heatolators and air furnaces and consequently any fireplace in a building that has been modernized and tampered with over the years, and a certain point, we've all got furnaces and immediately we throw out every fireplace to a wood burning fireplace. Well, the ones in the Octagon had Victorian coal grates in them and these were removed to show the large original opening, plastered, and still white. That is, the fire had blackened the relatively small area on the back side of the fireplace and the ends of the fireplace. But the interior of the fireplace opening, which was enormous, was white, of course, to give more light in the room or aid in lighting the room. Metal hooks were found in the backs of the fireplace much too low for the firebacks with which we are familiar, and there were indications of early coal grates. We found an early wrought-iron coal grate in one of the third floor rooms. But it had been set with modern fire brick, indicating that it had originally been in some other location, and what we had there was not an early fireplace in itself.

The question was would coal have been used for heating in Washington in the 1800's? Well, it would appear that in this country, coal as domestic heating fuel, was used extensively at a much earlier date than is generally believed. The Virginia Huguenots knew of coal in 1701. As a result, Col. William Byrd took ordinance for land which he received October 20, 1704, Richmond. It's known that the native Indians were aware and made use of the coal on the banks of the James River. And in 1748, a

man willed some land to his wife in Henrico County at a place he referred to in his will as the Coal Pits. And then in July of 1767 the Virginia Gazette offered for sale at Rockets, coal at 12 pence a bushel, equal to New Castle coal. Rockets, you know, was the landing at Richmond receipt port then. You remember that one of Benjamin Latrobe's first major prospects in this country was the Canal, the Richmond Canal from the coal fields west of Richmond down to the Canal Basic about which we have heard a great deal of discussion recently, and the redevelopment of the downtown area of Richmond. The coal was then carted over the hill to Rockets which was the warehouse and the landing for ocean going ships. And shipped up to Washington in the sail boats. So that we know that coal could have been used, but would it have been used? Well, we have a perfectly wonderful source in Abigail Adams, the first mistress of the White House, by some letters she gives us a vivid picture. And these letters written on the 21st of November, and the 27th of November, 1800. Most of the cord wood brought to the White House which could supply the 12 fireplaces, had been used to dry out the plaster walls of the mansion and winter was already closing in.

But she wrote, "surrounded with forest, can you believe that there is not wood to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it. We have indeed come into a new country." Well, things were much better a week later, when she wrote on the 27th of November that grates had been made and set and the situation had been saved by laying in 200 bushels of coal. I'm not at all sure of these facts because you know what goes on in the White House in an architectural manner these days, is, I suppose, a state secret. But the rumor has it that the famous Roosevelt's swimming pool has been removed during the current administration. And that below the swimming pool were found a number of early brick vaults filled with coal. In other words, the original coal bins were below the house.

Another source of information on the Octagon are the Mount Airy papers. I first saw them in February of 1970. They are a large collection, of papers, now in the Virginia Historical Society. And I flatter myself somewhat to think that I may have had some influence in having them placed there. It is the largest single collection of documents ever given to the Virginia Historical Society and they include the records of the Taylor family, some of the indentures going back to Jamestown. And they had been housed at Mount Airy in window seats which having been

painted shut were thought for many years to be blind panels. It was only when the current occupant of the house, still a Taylor, installed central heating, they placed the unit under the windows, it was in the panel space under the windows, that they discovered cartons and cartons of documents. And for the Octagon, since it was built in Washington in 1800, they have every bill presented for that house. One of them, the bill for the lumber, is 17 pages long, describing every plank, every piece of wood, that went into the building. It is the most complete set of documents for a house of the period I have ever seen.

Since that time, there was an official position called the Measura. He was a man who was appointed as the unbiased third party to survey the work done on a new building. And to agree to the quantity of the work that was done and the price. There was one owner, there was one for the builder, and then there was the third party who agreed to it. Many of these assigned as measura by James Hoban, the architect for the White House, which was then under construction. I'll give you several examples from these papers. They contained the records of the Rappahannock Jockey Club, Mr. Taylor was quite interested in horses. He raced them, he bred them, and imported them. His copy books for his plantation records are there. For instance, in a letter on the 16th of July, 1801 to Messrs. Lamb and Younger, London Merchants, he said, in the package of chimneypieces, the principal one, the mantel of the drawing room chimneypiece, as by their draft sent, is entirely missing. Therefore, unless the piece be immediately sent so as to be put up before the room is finished, Code's bill ought not to be paid. Code was the manufacturer of the ornamental mantelpiece in London, that he ordered for his Washington town house. "Therefore, unless the piece be immediately sent so as to be put up before the room is finished, Code's bill ought not to be paid without a deduction for this piece which is the principal one of the whole. The portico pieces if not already shipped, I wish not to be paid no further attention to, for the building can't wait for them. Please forward my letter to Code," etc.

Mr. Taylor wrote most of his letters in one sentence. He didn't bother with periods. And some of them are really quite amusing. One of the 15th of July, 1801, after the day before to Mr. Code in London. Incidentally, it wasn't Mr. Code, the business was run by Mrs. Code and her daughter. At that time there was no Mr. Code. But he wrote an irate letter to Code referring

to the missing mantel. And in his copy which he kept behind Code's name there is the parenthetical expression Note: Ought to be shot. And then I think we learn a little bit about Mr. Taylor's taste in furniture. You know he was a country squire who liked his horses and dogs and good old substantial furniture. Obviously he had very little truck with the modern furniture of 1800, the latest designs from London. Because on the 1st of June, 1801, he wrote to Mr. Baxter at No. 20, Piccadilly, London. "I am sure it would have been money in my pocket if such a person as Mr. Baxter had not been known to me. Your furniture as sent here is the worst I ever saw, so slight. I lament the death of Mrs. Baxter and in haste I am your obedient servant, John Taylor." But more to our point is the itemized bill No. 7 for the construction of his town house. Dated December 3rd, 1801 and in this enormous and long listing for smith work, there are two cranes and four eyes to kitchen to fireplace, lengthening a spindle to a lock, putting in grates and stays. Later on, two grates and stays, one grate and stay, and to give you some idea of how detailed these bills are, 16 meathooks, and an item for mending a bridle bit. But we have established then by the bill for the house in 1801 that coal grates had been installed.

On January the 16th, 1802, there is a bill for mending a plate to a stove and a new damper, including taking to pieces and putting together. These are the wonderful pair of stoves in the entrance hall to the Octagon House still in place. Then the next bill from William Coltman, the mason, lists among other items to the brick work at setting up coal fire grates at \$2.00 per grate. Five such grates were installed between December 24th, 1801 and January 1st, 1802. With this information in hand, and we undertook a new assignment which was the John Marshall House. And we turned first to Marshall Papers at William & Mary. Among them of the John Marshall account books showing receipts and disbursements for household accounts from September 1783 through October 1795. These accounts contain a great deal of information pertinent to the restoration of the house itself. In fact, the accounts themselves, for instance, when Marshall was a young man when first married, he carefully noted every receipt and every disbursement so that as an item to Polly, his wife, to Polly for ribbon. And as his law practice became more successful, he spent less time keeping household accounts and by the end of the period of the account books which have remained intact and preserved at William & Mary,

the expenditures are simply monthly items to household, so much per month. Like a good lawyer, he did keep a careful account of his receipts for professional fees of when they were paid and whether or not they were paid.

The subject of domestic heating is so important if you are going to have an authentic restoration of this period, and fortunately Marshall's account books give us the most wonderful, complete picture that you can imagine. The following entries, for instance, October 1783, bringing coal 1 in 14 (1 pound, 14 shillings), October 1783, 150 bushels coal for self, 7 pounds, 10 shillings. November 17, 1784, for coal 12 pound 10. October 16, 1785, coal 5 pounds, 15 shillings. 24th February, 1786, coal no amount, no price given. 29th of January, 1787, 2 pounds of coal, 4 lb. 10. 23rd August, 1787, coal, 7 lbs. 10. 14 March, 1788, coal, 30 shillings, And December 31, 1788, cumlet for coal, no amount given. I quote these dates, they are interesting in that they cover a period prior to the construction of the John Marshall House, that we have in Richmond. In other words, Marshall was using coal in the home where he lived at that time and he was using slightly over a hundred bushels per year.

Now the records continue so that when he moved into his new house, we have the annual expenditures for coal listed, of course, on a more frequent basis. Picking a year at random, 1792, February, expenditures were 27- $\frac{1}{2}$, 27 and $\frac{1}{2}$ shillings. March, 28 lbs. 6 shillings, April 10 lbs. 4 shillings, 4 pence, August, 8 lbs. 14 shillings, 6 pence. So that in his new home, Marshall was obviously consuming a great deal more coal annually than he had at his previous location. I suppose that's what happens to all of us when we successfully move. There is ample evidence in the account books, too, that he had the necessary equipment. We have entries in 1783 for grate, 3 lbs. putting it up, 3 lbs. for the grate, putting it up, 18 shillings. October 18, 1784, for repairing Cox's grates, 16 shillings. December 1786, shovels, pokers and tongs, 1 lb., 4 shillings. Throughout his career in the house, we can see that he not only used coal for heating, but the frequency with which the grates were burned out and had to be replaced, I assumed these grates then were hand-made by the local blacksmith and that under heavy usage they would deteriorate and be discarded and replaced by a new grate. Which is why I also presume we have no exact example of a grate in use at that time today. They were utilitarian items, they were not saved because of their unattractiveness and we

really don't know what the grates looked like in the White House in 1800 or in the Octagon House in 1800, or in the John Marshall House in 1790. I think we have a good suggestion from one of Hogarth's drawings, though, of the period. It shows a very simple grate which a local blacksmith could have made. However, further research is indicated before we will be able to display these fireplaces with any degree of confidence.

May I conclude with an observation and a plea. Observation is really a pet peeve. But I know of no more fitting place to voice such a thought than here in the pure air of an academic community. You frequently hear people refer to the beautiful homes that their friends have bought and restored. And what they really mean to report is their friends have done an extensive modernization in a quaint Better Homes & Gardens manner. Did you know, for instance, that our grandmothers used churns to make butter rather than the flower containers? As is so frequent the case, it is, of course, a problem of ceramics. When I was younger, I determined to take on the whole world to see that our terminology was properly used. And I naturally no longer propose to do that. But I do hope that my remarks tonight may have given you some idea of the nature of our work and the seriousness with which we regard it.

Now for my plea, every coin has its obverse, of course, and if to some of you I have made our work seem terribly complicated, it really isn't. I'm convinced in my own mind that it's nothing more than the application of common sense. So you can see that as far as theory is concerned I have taken your entire evening and told you nothing that you didn't already know. But seriously, may I plead that you all become architectural historians. You need not be professionals. Although, laborers of ability would indeed be welcome. But I think that you can help a great deal by your own knowledge and your own enthusiasm. A great hope for the maintenance of our architectural heritage is a broad well educated public. Educated to recognize the artistic and intrinsic values of our building heritage. Those values which can inspire and instruct the generations to come. Thank you.

A MEMORIAL TO DR. RICHARD P. BELL III

At a recent meeting of the Board of Directors of the Augusta County Historical Society it was voted to establish a Memorial fund honoring the late Dr. Richard P. Bell III in a bound set of the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, to be placed in the Society's archives of Staunton Public Library.

Dr. Bell was founder and first president of the Augusta County Historical Society. Its growth and development are largely the results of his foresight and supervision. The programs and plans for a sustained and established organization were of vital concern to him. It is with deep gratitude to his memory the Society continues to devote its attention to preserving the history of our county, state and nation.

Contributions are welcomed for this memorial and are to be sent to the Society's Treasurer, Mr. Harry E. Baylor, Jr., P. O. Box 686, Staunton, Virginia 24401.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS A HISTORY OF BETHANY-TRINITY LUTHERAN CONGREGATION

Bethany Church, at Main & Maple, Waynesboro.
Trinity Church, on Rt. 865, 1 mi. N. of Rt. 612 intersection.

Mrs. Karl Maier

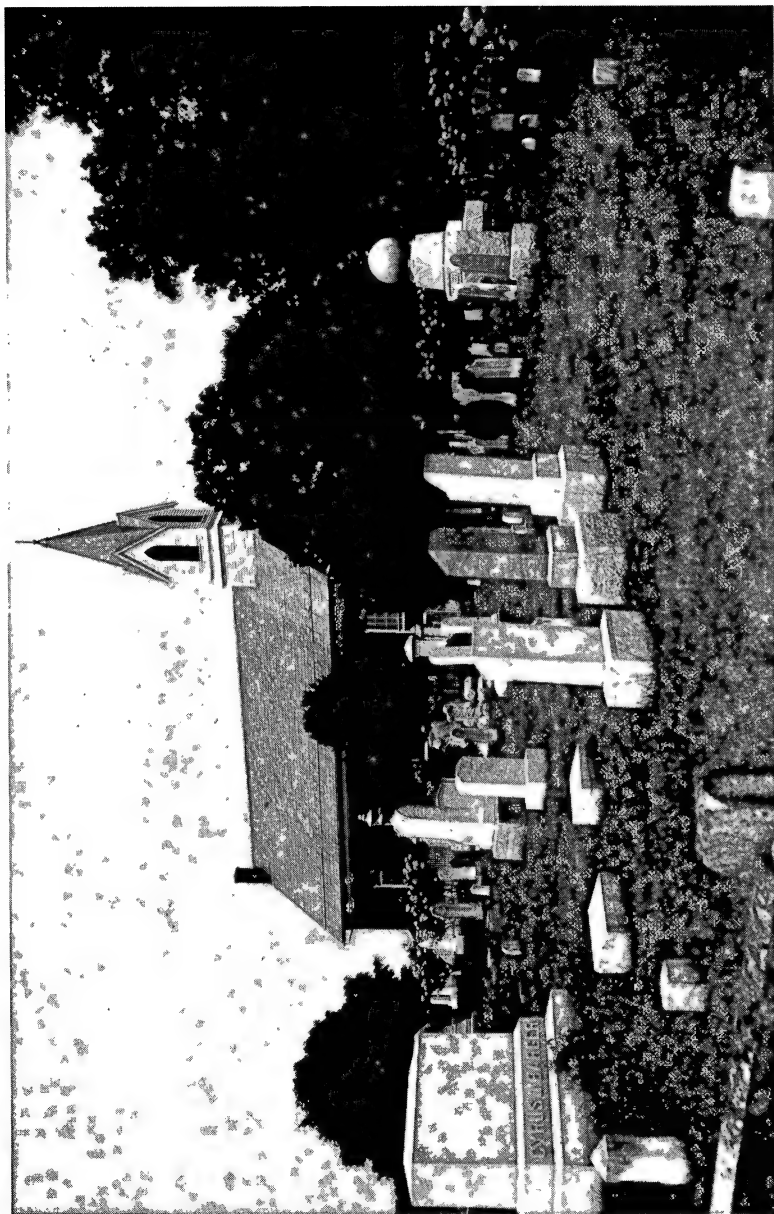
When we go back 200 years to write a history of Bethany-Trinity Lutheran Church, we find that the Declaration of Independence had not yet been written, the War for Independence had not yet been fought, the 13 colonies were established and signs of revolt were beginning to appear. It was an exciting time in the history of our country.

But this congregation's roots appear to go back even farther. The story of any congregation is the story of families, in this case the Berger (Barger) and Keinadt (Koiner) families. Both had their beginnings in Germany, had probably been influenced by William Penn who had traveled extensively in Germany giving glowing accounts of America, and both had immigrated to Pennsylvania and then to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.

Jacob Berger, born in Rockingham County in 1745, is referred to as the patriarch of the congregation. He married Elizabeth Hedrick, whose father owned 625 acres, and their first child, Anna Margaret, was born October 28, 1771.

The record of this child's baptism on April 6, 1772, is the first entry in the records of Bethany-Trinity Lutheran Church. (Margaret grew up and became Mrs. Casper Koiner.) Five other Berger children were baptized between 1773 and 1794. Jacob Berger's wife and children remained at their home while he served under General George Washington during the Revolutionary War, and when he returned they settled on a large tract of land in Augusta County.

Michael Keinadt, whose name has been traced back to the Reformation, and whose name is now spelled Koiner, Coiner,



Trinity Lutheran Church. On Route 865, 1 mile North of Route 612 intersection. At right of picture large globular marker honors the Koerner family. Picture dated 8-31-1941.



Bethany Lutheran Church, corner of Main and Maple Ave., Waynesboro, Virginia.

Coyner, etc., came to America in 1740, lived in Pennsylvania until the close of the Revolutionary War, when he and his wife Margaret, nee' Diller, bought 300 acres of land on the South River and moved with 12 of their 13 sons to the Shenandoah Valley.

The Keinadt's sixth son, Casper, had preceded his parents to the Valley and had fallen in love with Anna Margaret Barger. Jacob wasn't too happy to have his daughter marry this stranger, so Margaret and Casper went to Staunton in March 1788, were married, and left before the pursuing parent arrived. Twelve children were born of that union, and their descendants constitute the most numerous branch of the Koiner family in America. This large, God-fearing family was for many years the strong support of the congregation now celebrating 200 years. Incidentally, it was this Casper Koiner who erected the first brick house in Waynesboro, cleared and developed many farms and built houses for his nine sons.

These early settlers brought with them copies of Luther's Bible, his Catechism, and their hymnbooks. As soon as a cabin had been built and their crops planted, they usually sought out others of their faith, gathered several families in a home, barn, schoolhouse or arbor for devotional meetings, with laymen among them conducting simple services when a minister was not available. As far as is known, a Rev. A. Naumann was the first man who preached here. He was killed by a falling tree about the year 1788.

After the end of the War, new settlers came into the area, and conditions improved. In the summer of 1794 Jacob Barger, Casper Koiner, Nicholas Busch and Kasper Clemen built a log church, the first Lutheran Church in Augusta County, 36x40', located nearly in the center of the present graveyard. Michael Keinadt, who was then 71 years old, made the nails for the log church which became known as Spindle's Meeting House, as the Rev. Adolph Spindle preached here until about the year 1809. Before this log church was finished, Jacob Barger died in his 49th year, and is buried in this cemetery. His wife lived another 47 years.

At this point, we might wonder about the origin of the cemetery. According to the Rev. E. T. Coyner in the Keinadt history

"....it was used as a cemetery about 1730 or 1740, beginning in the northeast corner where the graves were arranged in rows facing the east. There were several graves outside the present fence about 1880, which, like the first hundred graves inside the fence, were marked only with rough flat stones.....mostly with no dates on them..... This cemetery was possibly the first cemetery of the whole section of South River."

Pastor Coyner continues

".... the conclusion is inevitable that either there was some sort of church organization long before the log church was built or that the church acquired the cemetery from some private parties long before 1796."

He concludes that it was originally a part of the old Jacob Slagle farm which adjoined it.

During the period 1794-1797 the Rev. Paul Henkel, of the eminent Henkel family of New Market, Virginia, also served here. He started a number of churches in Augusta, Madison, Pendleton and Wythe Counties. He was a remarkably versatile man and found time to be both author and publisher of hymnbooks and catechisms in English and in German, rear sons for the Lutheran ministry who carried on the family publishing firm, engage in extensive missionary travels (traversed all Ohio in a two-wheeled cart!), and participate in the organization of three synods.

We might add here that one of the congregation's treasures is the small German pulpit Bible used in the log church. On the back page, written in German, probably by Pastor Paul Henkel and signed by the two elders of the church, we read:

"This copy of the Holy Scriptures was bought for the use of this congregation and is to be kept for that purpose.

"We as elders of this church attest this with our own hands.

Augusta County, Keinert's Church

Nicholas Busch

Casper Keinadt"

November 9, 1797

A pewter plate (London) used in the early communion services, a wooden chest which housed the communion ware, and the first record book, bound in pigskin, pages with royal imprint, with entries made between 1772 and 1845 are also in the congregation's possession. It is very likely that the record book was pro-

cured about 1790 and the oldest baptismal records then copied from private family records. Some of the names found in this first book include:

Aylor, Brennaman, Branaman, Braunfield, Blakemore, Bernhard, Balsly, Bazel, Baker, Burns, Coyner, Craig, Cambell, Coiner, Coinard, Cainadt, Doom, Engleman, Everding, Faber, Franzman, Forbes, Freusinger, Fellers, Fischborn, German, Georges, Gfeller, Gonoway, Groh, Guttman, Henser, Hippert, Bilbert, Herscher, Hiserman, Hofmeyer, Hildebrand, Imboden, Jost, Kleman, Kainadt, Kroh, Leonard, Lang, Lennert, Mayer, Moser, Maurer, McLanthan, Noll, Nehs, Nieckey, Nichols, Orebauch, Paff, Rubert, Renner, Rosenbarger, Schlegel, Staudt, Staubus, Steckly, Speck, Schindler, Schmaltzhafen, Schmidt, Stein, Traut, Ulrich, Vogely, Weizel, Weigel, Wenrich, Wonderlich, Yost, Zerfas.

The Rev. John Folz served during the first decade of the 19th century and was followed by the Rev. George Riemen-schneider who served for thirteen years, from 1809-1822. Then, about 1824, a Rev. M. Meyerhoffer, a popular speaker, sought to intrude himself into the congregation, causing a division among the people, resulting in the forming of Zion Church six miles to the South.

The brothers Philip and Ambrose Henkel were Pastors of the congregation from 1824-1837, with the Rev. Johannes Steier-walt serving frequently. Of Ambrose Henkel it is said "He was so faithful in his labors, especially in teaching and leading the young that he is considered one of the three fathers of the old church."

In 1823 the congregation defeated a motion to have English preaching, but in 1837 the last communion service in the German language was held, and by 1838 all records were kept in English.

The Rev. J. Killian became Pastor in 1836, and in 1838 the original log church, Spindle's Meeting House, was replaced on the same spot in the graveyard by a new brick building 36x40', called Koiner's Church. John Leonard, a member of the congregation, was the architect. Also during the pastorate of Mr. Killian, a congregation was established, near Mt. Solon, called St. Paul's, to supply a group which settled on North River. About 1854 the congregation built Bethlehem Church, located 4 miles south of Waynesboro to accommodate those living in that area, and when Pastor Killian resigned in 1865 he kept charge of Bethlehem.

In 1856 Casper Koiner died at the age of 92, having worshipped for 62 years in the churches he helped build. His wife, Margaret, preceded him in 1850 at the age of 78.

The period 1861-1865, the country's darkest hour, saw the garden spot of Virginia become a beaten track, and the camping ground of both armies, and at the close of the war was a scene of desolation. Many men from this congregation had to leave their homes to join in the battle, and those who remained at home had countless stories to tell of the difficult times, with frequent raids on their food supplies and other scars of war that were to be visible for many years. To mention but two names, John Nicholas Coiner served with Major Mosby, and Elijah Coiner was wounded while serving under General J. E. B. Stuart.

The Rev. J. E. Seneker, who married Michael Keinadt's great-granddaughter, took charge in 1866 in that difficult period following the end of the Civil War and during his pastorate a parsonage was built on three acres to the northeast of the grove. An unpleasant incident occurred in 1871 when a Presbyterian minister, while preaching a funeral sermon in Koiner's Church, preached against Lutheran doctrine, which caused the congregation to adopt a resolution to admit only Lutheran preachers to its pulpit. However, some members disagreed and withdrew, building Mountain View Chapel to the north of the parsonage.

For the convenience of some older members who could not attend at Koiner's Church, a small frame church, Bethany, was built one mile north of Waynesboro in 1874. After that, services were held at Bethany and Trinity on alternate Sundays.

After Pastor Seneker resigned in 1875, there was a vacancy till 1877 when the Rev. P. S. Swinehart took charge for two years. 107 years after the first entry in their record book, Martin Koiner, Jacob Koiner, Major Hahn and Pastor Swinehart were appointed to draft a constitution which was adopted in 1880.

The Rev. Frederick Kuegele came in 1879 and during his 37-year pastorate the congregation was blessed with sound doctrinal preaching and thorough catechetical instruction.

Five years after the establishment of Bethany Church near Waynesboro a boarding school was opened at Bethany with Theodore Coyner and Mrs. Virginia Hamilton the first teachers, and Pastor Kuegele giving religious instruction. Mr. Coyner was

paid \$25 per month for 6 months, and the tuition was \$1 per month. (Theodore Coyner became president of a bank in Waynesboro and a successful farmer.)

A new brick church, 36x46', with three large windows on each side, was erected in 1880 at the southwest corner of the grove. The name Koiner's Church was abolished and this new brick building was called Trinity. The full title of the congregation became "The Coyner's Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of Augusta County, Virginia, worshipping at Trinity and Bethany Churches."

In 1884 a monument was erected to Pastor Seneker, located on the spot in the cemetery where the pulpit of the first log church and the first brick church had stood.

A frame schoolhouse was built at Trinity in 1885, making two schools, one at Trinity and one at Bethany, and a teacher's residence was built at Bethany for \$1,177. 36 children were enrolled at Bethany in 1886.

In 1888 the congregation stipulated that a new Bethany Church should be built, to cost not less than \$1500 or more than \$2000, but in the end it cost \$2100 to build the new church and to fix up the old Bethany to be used as a school house.

A general English Synod was organized in 1888, with Pastor Kuegele elected President. In 1911 this Synod became the English District of the Missouri Synod. This affiliation with the Missouri Synod still exists.

We read in the minutes of 1891: "Whereas certain persons spread reports that this congregation does not desire strangers to attend its services, the Pastor is allowed the privilege of publishing the time and place of each meeting in the local papers."

The year 1892 saw the erection of a suitable monument to Michael and Margaret Keinadt in Trinity cemetery to replace the original sandstone marker, and a reunion of the family at Trinity Church, attended by over 2000 Koiners gathered from many parts of the country.

In 1902 the congregation voted "to participate in the Louisiana Purchase Exposition with a school exhibit, teacher Hilgartner to make the arrangements." As early as 1884 the establishment of a High School was considered but postponed indefinitely.

A centennial celebration commemorating the building of the first log church was held on October 31st, 1894.

During 1901 and 1902 Trinity Church was remodeled and enlarged, giving it five windows along each side instead of three,

and additional land to make an open road into Trinity was purchased for \$300 per acre.

Pastor Kuegele's 25th anniversary was celebrated in 1904 with two special services, and in 1909 a new parsonage was built at Trinity, Eutzler Bros. giving a turnkey bid of \$3250. In 1915 a pipe organ was installed at Trinity.

During his 37 years in residence at Trinity Grove near Koiner's Store, the Rev. Frederick Kuegele found time to publish 7 volumes of "Country Sermons" a "Book of Devotions," a Confirmation book and "Christopherous." The entire stock of the book "Country Sermons" together with the plates was destroyed in a fire at the Lang Printery in Baltimore, a personal loss to the author and also to the English Synod which had been receiving benefits from the proceeds of the books. Pastor Kuegele died April 1, 1916 and is buried in Trinity cemetery, where the congregation marked his grave with an imposing monument and placed a memorial window above the altar in Trinity Church.

Dr. E. J. Friedrich became pastor in 1916 and served for seven years. After he had lived in the Trinity parsonage about two years it was decided to buy the house at 712 Fourteenth Street, in Waynesboro, to be used as a parsonage. The Trinity parsonage became the home of the caretaker of the cemetery.

Pastor Friedrich was followed by the Rev. Herbert E. Plehn who served for 5 years. During these two pastorates a great step was taken when Bethany Church was moved into Waynesboro. Old Bethany was in need of extensive repairs, and after long deliberation it was decided to tear it down and build a new church on the corner of Main Street and Maple Avenue in Waynesboro. Despite considerable opposition to forsaking the old Bethany Hill site, work was begun in the Fall of 1923 and the cornerstone of the old Bethany church was laid at the new church on Palm Sunday, April 13, 1924. The dedication sermon November 8, 1925, was preached by the former pastor, Dr. Friedrich; the evening sermon by Dr. O. C. Kreinheder, who served as President of Valparaiso Lutheran University, and was formerly a teacher at Bethany School. He is buried at Trinity cemetery. (He married Hannah Coiner, a descendant of Michael Keinadt.) Bethany School, which had been closed in 1916, was re-opened at the new Bethany in the fall of 1926, and a new one room school building was added to Bethany Church in 1928.

On July 7th, 1929, the Rev. Karl Maier was ordained and installed as Pastor by his brother, Dr. Walter A. Maier, the founder and first speaker on the International Lutheran Hour. His pastorate of 37 years spanned the years of the Great Depression and World War II, which saw 30 men and women of the congregation serve in all combat areas and all return safely except E. Warren Barger who gave his life in the nation's service in the Air Force, and Lieut. John Henry Miller, Jr., who died in England. Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Barger established an endowment fund in their son's memory, the income to provide equipment for Bethany School.

Because of the need for larger school and Sunday School facilities, an auditorium and two basement rooms were added to the Bethany School room in 1939.

The congregation enjoyed an uncommon experience in 1935 when it celebrated the 100th birthday of "Aunt Kate" Coyner Palmer (great-granddaughter of Michael Keinadt), with a special service at Trinity Church. Also in 1941 the constitution and by-laws were revised and the name "Coyner's Congregation" was changed to "Bethany-Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church," to dispel any misconception of the character of the congregation in the minds of the public. At this time, too, a Trinity Cemetery Trust Fund was established for the perpetual care of the cemetery.

A Kindergarten was added to Bethany School in 1943, and with the continued growth of the school it became necessary to erect an Educational Building in 1952, providing four additional classrooms and a large assembly room for a faculty of seven teachers. With the purchase of the McCray property on Maple Avenue across from Bethany, additional playground and parking facilities were made available.

Some years earlier, because the location of the membership was changing, it had been decided that services which had been held on alternate Sunday mornings at Bethany and Trinity churches should be changed to morning services every Sunday at Bethany and afternoon services every first and third Sunday at Trinity. In the year 1947 it was voted to hold only special services such as the Mission Festival each August, funeral services, and Memorial Day (observed for the first time in 1947) at Trinity Church.

Lest we give the impression that this congregation was concerned only with its own needs, we should note here that during the early years practically no records or minutes were kept, other than to record baptisms and the lists of those who communed. The Pastor's salary and all other funds were obtained by "subscription," one person contacting the members for contributions, and seldom were the results recorded. But beginning about 1883 there is at least a partial accounting which reveals support of many and diverse charities and missions, including support for two students at Columbus, Ohio, a congregation at Logan, O., a library at Addison, Ill., students at Springfield, Ill., St. Louis and Gravelton, Mo., and Conover, N. C., furnishing a classroom and contributing toward the building of the president's house at Concordia College, Conover, N. C., supporting a colored school at Concord, N. C., a mission at Asheville, N. C., establishing a mission and for five years supporting a missionary in Pendleton Co., W. Va., who preached at six places; assisting a church in Detroit, and helping the church in Charlottesville. During the past sixty years the congregation has consistently and generously supported the work of District and Synod.

The Ladies' Aid Society was organized in 1910 with Mrs. Ida Barger Eakle, president; Mrs. R. N. Page, vice-president; Miss Nettie Coiner, secretary; Mrs. Casper Coiner, treasurer. It has been a tremendous asset to the congregation and the church at large, and in 1953 an Evening Circle was formed, with Mrs. E. R. Coiner, president. Both groups are members of the Lutheran Women's Missionary League.

In 1917 the young people organized with Mr. Harry Coiner, president; Wilbur Coyner, vice-president, and Frank Leonard, treasurer. Three years later they joined the International Walther League. A Junior Walther League was organized in 1925 with Rudolph Freed, president, and Fillmore Coyner, vice-president.

These organizations, together with the Men's Club, a part of the Lutheran Laymen's League, have played an important part in the history of the congregation.

Early records of Bethany and Trinity schools are practically non-existent. Most often the minutes refer to a school report which was given, without adding information from the report. To list all the teachers would take too much space, except to

mention Mrs. John Coyner who served faithfully for 20 years, retiring in 1968. In 1972 a "Bethany-Trinity Lutheran School Endowment Fund" was established.

After serving Bethany-Trinity for 37 years and the District and Synod in many capacities, Pastor Maier retired in 1966 because of ill health. He died September 18, 1967 and is buried in Trinity Cemetery. In his memory the congregation established the Karl H. Maier Memorial Scholarship Fund, the income to be used for the training of ministers at Concordia Seminary, Springfield, Ill.

The present Pastor, the Rev. Karl Schmidt, was installed October 16, 1966. Since the congregation has sold the Bethany and Trinity parsonages, Pastor and Mrs. Schmidt have purchased a home of their own.

This brings us to the present time and the celebration of the 200th anniversary which began the first Sunday in Advent, the start of the 1972 church year. Events and speakers included:

Nov. 28, 1971—Dr. E. J. Friedrich, Denver, Colo.

1972

April 9 11 a.m. The Rev. Harry G. Coiner, Accident, Maryland *

3 p.m. Dr. Oswald C. J. Hoffmann, speaker
International Lutheran Hour
(Waynesboro High School)

May 28 — 3 p.m. Dr. Herbert E. Plehn, Towson, Md.
(Trinity Church and Cemetery)

Aug. 20 — 11 a.m. The Rev. Bryant E. Clancy, Charlotte, N. C. (Trinity Church)

Sept. 24 — 11 a.m. The Rev. L. Granville Leonard, Garner, Iowa **

Nov. 5 — 11 a.m. The Rev. Edgar Rosen, Cleveland, Tenn. ***

Thanksgiving Day The Rev. Charles Mueller, Silver Spring, Md.
President, Southeastern District,
Lutheran Church Missouri Synod

* A descendant of Michael Keinadt, and son of Mr. and Mrs. Harry C. Coiner

** A son of the congregation and descendant of the early Leonhardts

*** A son of the congregation

To serve as a lasting reminder of God's grace to this congregation for two centuries, a bronze medal has been struck. On one side is an engraving of Bethany Church with the name of the congregation; the other side features Trinity Church with the anniversary theme "Christ Jesus, — our Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." This has, indeed, been this congregation's confession for two hundred years.

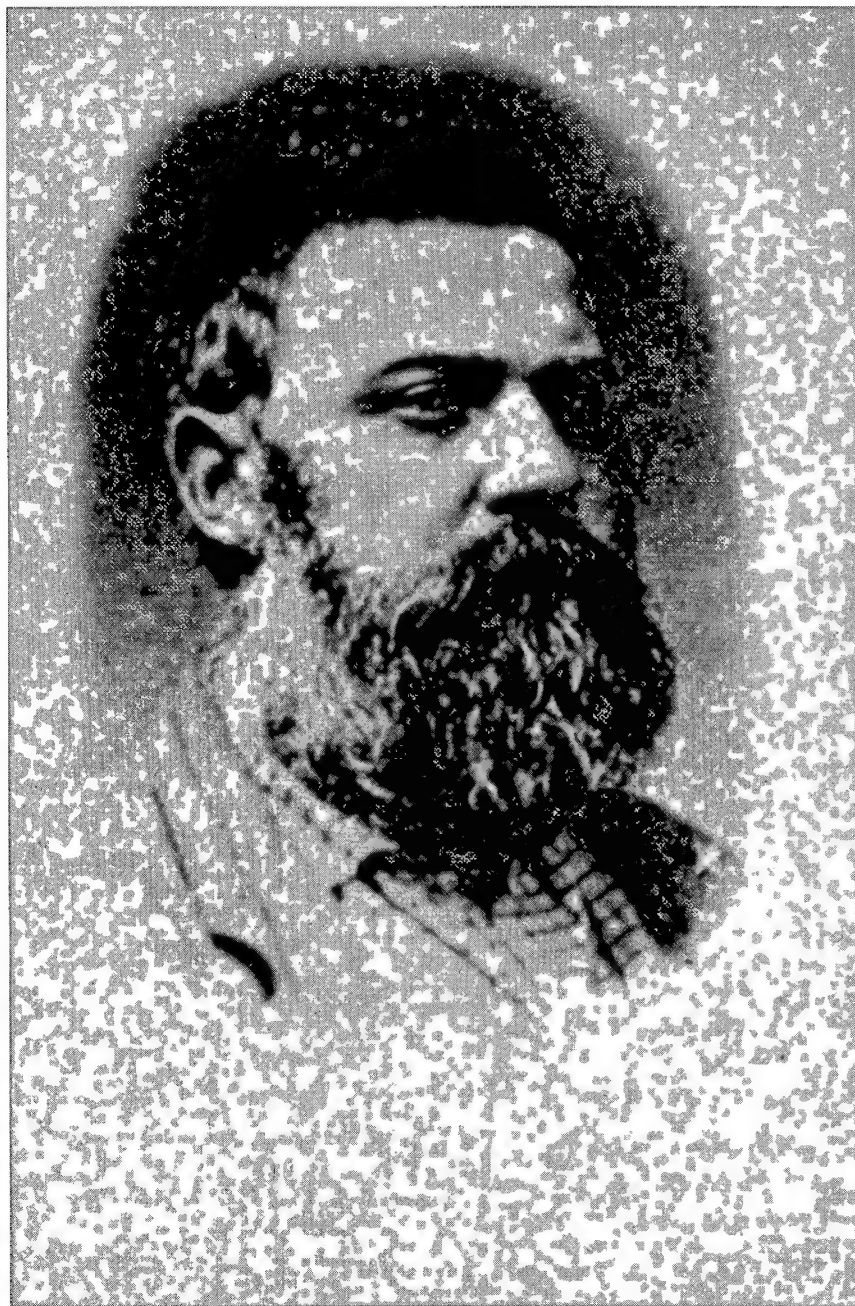
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The Barger family history

Historical Sketch of the Congregation — Mrs. Fred B. Leonard, 1947

Church Record books



John Harman
Courtesy of Iron Worker Magazine

JOHN A. HARMAN: Jackson's Logistical Genius

W. G. Bean

(This article is used through the courtesy of
"The Iron Worker" Magazine
Published by the Lynchburg Foundry Company)

EARLY YEARS

John A. Harman was one of five brothers who served the Confederacy with distinction. Sons of Louis and Sarah (Garber) Harman, they were descended from pioneer families who had migrated from Pennsylvania to Augusta County, Virginia, in the eighteenth century. It was said of the brothers that "they possessed a certain obstinate energy that slashed through all obstacles to attain whatever they wished to accomplish. A gentle, kindly manner mingled with undaunted courage and fearlessness—no cant or beating the bushes—but a directness and force in whatever they said or did." These qualities were obvious characteristics of John A. Harman.

He was born on February 29, 1824, on his father's farm near Waynesboro, Virginia. As a youth he served as a printer's devil on the Staunton SPECTATOR, whose editor was Kenton Harper. When he had mastered the skill of publishing, this ambitious young man embarked upon a career of journalism in Greenbrier County, (West) Virginia, where he edited the Lewisburg OBSERVER. But as his spirit was too daring and enterprising to remain in this quiet, rural town, he directed his steps to Texas, where he was residing at the outbreak of the Mexican War.

Harman enlisted in Ben McCulloch's famous Texas Rangers and served in that renowned command until the end of the war.

Returning to Staunton, the enterprising young man soon accumulated enough money by buying and butchering cattle to purchase a run-down homestead, "Belle Fonte," two miles east of Staunton. He was very successful as a farmer and, by utilizing the new farming techniques, he converted the property into one of the best managed farms in the county. Although a stern slave master, he carefully attended to the slaves' comforts and wants. For several years he was a major in the Virginia militia, also served as a county magistrate, and was known for fearlessly discharging his magisterial duties.

In addition to his other varied interests, in 1851 John A. Harman took over the management of the Parish Line of Stage Coaches, which operated

in the Valley of Virginia and across the mountains into what is now West Virginia.

In 1854 John A. Harman and his brother, Asher Harman, who had operated a small independent line of stagecoaches in the Valley, formed a company and, by efficient management, they soon established a virtual monopoly in transportation in the Valley with lines radiating out of Staunton.

John A. Harman acquired his brother's interest in the Harman Line of Stage Coaches and continued to operate the business until the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1859 a detachment of cadets of the Virginia Military Institute was transported by Harman from Lexington to Staunton, where they took the train for Charleston, (West) Virginia for the hanging of John Brown. Again in April 1861, the Harman Line conveyed a battalion of cadets to Staunton en route to Richmond, where they had been ordered by Governor John Letcher to drill the volunteers who were pouring into the city in anticipation of Virginia's secession from the Union. — WGB

During the early evening of April 16, 1861, a few bold secessionists, including Henry A. Wise, John A. Harman, John D. Imboden, Turner Ashby and his brother Richard, met at the Exchange Hotel in Richmond to discuss plans for the speedy seizure of the U. S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry. Wise, who had conceived the idea, insisted that some legal or official authority was necessary for such a scheme, so Harman and Imboden were dispatched to the Governor's Mansion to ascertain if Governor John Letcher would countenance the attempt to secure arms and munitions at Harpers Ferry. The Governor declined to consider the matter as he was pledged not to take any hostile action against the national government without first conferring with the State convention then in session.

Wise then addressed the group. "Well, gentlemen, you have the report. Are you ready and willing to act on your responsibility?" Turner Ashby instantly replied, "You have been our Governor of Virginia [1856-1860], and we will take orders from you, Sir, as if you were now Governor. Please draw your orders."

Wise immediately outlined a plan of action, with orders for its execution. The next morning, April 17, 1861, Wise hastened to the convention and informed the delegates of the action which had been taken the preceding night. After Governor Letcher's approval of the plan had been obtained, various militia and volunteer units in the Shenandoah Valley, Northern Virginia, and the Piedmont were alerted for immediate action. In the late afternoon of April 17, 1861, three days after the surrender of Fort Sumter and after Lincoln's requisition on Virginia for troops to coerce the seceding Cotton States, the ordinance of secession was passed amid hysterical scenes in the convention.

By dawn of April 18, contingents of Virginia troops, under the command of General Kenton Harper of Staunton, swooped down upon and captured the arsenal at Harpers Ferry, which was held by a small force of

Federal troops. Although they set fire to the arsenal, destroying most of the small arms, the machinery escaped the flames. John A. Harman had accompanied General Harper to Harpers Ferry as brigade quartermaster.

For nearly two weeks the officers and men at Harpers Ferry were engaged primarily in playing soldiering. But on April 29, 1861, when Colonel Thomas J. Jackson assumed command at Harpers Ferry, acting under the orders of the convention, he reduced all officers above the rank of captain. Those who were competent, however, were soon recommissioned. For instance, Major General Kenton Harper was appointed colonel of the Fifth Virginia Infantry Regiment, and Brigadier General William H. Harman and Major W.H.S. Baylor were demoted to lieutenant colonel and captain, respectively, of the same regiment. Jackson himself was commissioned a brigadier general.

Although John Harman had won General Jackson's confidence by having procured horses in Loudoun County, he was so disaffected by the demotion of his brother and friends, Kenton Harper and W.H.S. Baylor, that he thought of resigning. Instead of resigning, however, he offered his services by mail to General Henry A. Wise. But General Jackson had no intention of being deprived of Harman's services. On May 11, 1861, one day after John A. Harman's letter went to Henry A. Wise, Jackson had written to General Robert E. Lee that the "quartermaster, Mr. John A. Harman of this post, should not be removed, if it can possibly be avoided. Please have him appointed and retained, if practicable. I had difficulty in inducing him to remain, but if the appointment be sent him, I think he will continue here."

On May 11, 1861, Lieutenant Colonel J. T. L. Preston, Jackson's Assistant Adjutant General, told Colonel Francis H. Smith, Superintendent of V.M.I., that Jackson would consider it "a misfortune" if he should lose John A. Harman, adding:

There is a rumor that Harman may be replaced as Q[uartermaster]. I trust that no change may be made. You know how difficult it is to extemporize a system of supplies in such a country as this. I am amazed to see with what success Harman has done it. The same activity, shrewdness, common sense, and foresight that have made the Harman brothers successful in private matters have been brought to bear here.

On June 6, 1861, John A. Harman was appointed captain in the quartermaster department and, on July 3 he was promoted to major, the highest rank accorded an officer in this department except the chief quartermaster of an army, the position occupied by Lieutenant Colonel John L. Corley, Chief Quartermaster of the Army of Northern Virginia.

Clement D. Fishburne, who was a clerk in the quartermaster department in the early days of the war, described John A. Harman as *rough in his manner, but kind and generous towards everyone in whom he took any personal interest. He lived well in camp and rarely got any extra supplies for his mess that he did not call on me to come and share*

them with him. He was greatly criticized by his enemies and he was a man to have many, and vague hints were thrown out that he had made use of his position as quartermaster to accumulate money for himself. Such insinuations and intimidations were without foundation.

Harman was always a very busy man and devoted his time and ability to the discharge of his duty and gave entire satisfaction to Jackson, who would not tolerate any negligence.

A severe case of quinsy (tonsillitis) prevented Major Harman from participating in the Romney campaign of January 1862; his brother, Asher Harman, depot quartermaster at Staunton, substituted for him. From Romney, Jackson, remembering his ailing quartermaster, wrote the Major to assure him of his brother's competence and urging that he take time to recuperate fully.

* * *

With the approach of Federal General N. P. Banks' army on March 11, 1862, Jackson evacuated Winchester. Major Harman, realizing that evacuation was inevitable, had already made plans for the removal of the immense accumulation of supplies near Winchester to Strasburg, 17 miles south of Winchester. From Winchester, where Major Harman and Captain A. M. Garber had remained, they shipped the supplies to Strasburg, where Captains Charles Harris and G. W. Spotts were stationed. There were 250 teams with cooking and feeding stands at both ends, and the wagon trains made a round trip between Winchester and Strasburg every 12 hours. By traveling rapidly night and day, they removed the supplies from Winchester to Strasburg at the rate of 500 loads every 24 hours. Captain Garber stated that Major Harman "was well cursed by the overworked teamsters, who had never before seen wagons move like stagecoaches."

While Jackson was at Rude's Hill early in April 1862, Major Harman was granted a leave of absence for 48 hours to visit his sick children near Staunton. To reach home as quickly as possible, he rode his horse 50 miles in five hours and upon his arrival found his son, Webb, dying, two of the little ones dead and buried, and two more seriously ill. Requesting an extension of his furlough, Harman received a sympathetic letter from General Jackson, which, nevertheless, demanded his immediate return to the army.

Heartbroken, Major Harman left his stricken family and returned to the army at Rude's Hill, but in a few days Webb died. When Major Harman asked for another leave to attend the funeral, it was refused. He wrote his wife:

Do not judge the General harshly. I thought he might spare me for a few hours under such trying circumstances, but he thought otherwise, and I had to obey his command and pour out my grief apart from your loving and consoling sympathy.

Captain Garber declared that no matter how Major Harman felt he never uttered a word of complaint against General Jackson, saying that "the General is right, the country needs every man at his post. We must

think of the living and those who come after us. Some must suffer and why not I?"

Although Jackson was only one month older than Harman, the General's association was not as intimate with the Major as it was with some of his younger staff members. Yet he recognized and admired his capable, hard-swearing quartermaster's uncanny ability to move the wagon trains. Henry Kyd Douglas, a member of Jackson's staff from April to December, 1862, said that Harman "seemed to understand the management of teamsters and wagons as the General did that of soldiers." And McHenry Howard of General Charles Winder's staff wrote that the soldiers said Harman "could start a wagon train a mile long by his strong language at the back end."

Since both Jackson and Harman were men of strong personalities, they occasionally clashed. Jackson, with his intense anxiety for his supplies and wagon trains, seemed at times unusually severe in his treatment of Harman, driving him relentlessly, and Harman probably resented it. One of Jackson's recent biographers, Lenoir Chambers, has described Harman as "a vigorous man, often moved by emotion, sometimes deeply depressed, sometimes highly elated." In his letters to his brother Asher in the summer of 1862, Major Harman revealed his emotional nature in his criticism of General Jackson, on one occasion referring to the General as "our crack-brained General." At another time, when Major Harman could not meet Asher in Richmond, he wrote, "I am required to be constantly in the presence of the General. I am the greatest slave in the army. Nothing but a mean-spirited man would remain long with him in the army."

On several occasions Harman threatened to resign, but he did not, or else the General would not accept his resignation. For some unknown reason, in the fall of 1862 Harman wrote Captain Sandie Pendleton, Jackson's chief of staff, asking to be relieved of his duties as quartermaster of Jackson's second corps. Pendleton replied:

I mentioned the matter to the General, and, as I knew, he expressed surprise and regret and the kindest feeling toward you. I quote you his own words, "As a matter of course, if there is anything dissatisfactory, I will notify Major Harman himself, and will ask an explanation from him alone." So I return your letter and hope the old concern will stick together until the end of the war.

From Rude's Hill Jackson marched to Swift Run Gap, where on April 30, 1862, he embarked on the famous Valley campaign, which was terminated by the Battle of Port Republic on June 9. In the meantime, he defeated the enemy at McDowell on May 8, Front Royal on May 17, Winchester on May 25, and Cross Keys on June 8, 1862.

In the Valley campaign, as related by Captain Garber, came "the terrible march of twelve miles of quicksand roads [from Swift Run Gap to Port Republic] with three days and nights of storm and rain." Henry Kyd Douglas wrote of this march that Harman "carried Jackson's army on his shoulders from Swift Run Gap to Port Republic on that terrible march of

the first of May [and] perhaps thought a little thing like this was only a picnic."

Continuing, Captain Garber declared that in the entire Valley campaign

every nerve was strained, baggage was cut loose, tents thrown aside, and kitchen utensils were discarded, since there was not much to cook and too little time to do so . . . It was march day and night, the horses were fed hitched up, the teamsters changed their clothes on horseback or on the march, washing was unknown or done in hours snatched from sleep, and Major Harman lived almost all the time on his horse, Dixie, with a piece of dried beef and a cracker doing for a meal. The wagon trains—fourteen miles long—were constantly on the march and always near the troops . . .

Major Harman had also organized a "Boy Courier Line," consisting of boys between the ages of 14 and 17, who traveled from General Jackson to Staunton or to General Lee's headquarters near Richmond. The Major's orders to them were "twelve miles an hour and no fooling around."

In this campaign the enemy supplies captured at Front Royal consisted of a variety of commodities—horses, cattle, carpenter tools, horseshoe nails, clothes and subsistence items such as bacon, flour, sugar, salt and bread. But Jackson's army was moving so rapidly toward Winchester from Front Royal in order to intercept Banks' retreat from Strasburg to Winchester that Major Harman, without sufficient transportation, was unable to remove most of the captured supplies. Consequently an estimated \$300,000 worth of enemy supplies were destroyed by the Confederates at Front Royal.

At Winchester two field hospitals were seized, each capable of accommodating 700 patients. Captured surgical instruments and medical supplies were valued at \$125,000. Most of them were distributed in the Valley army and the rest were sent to the Charlottesville Hospital. Sandie Pendleton told his mother that the medical stores taken at Winchester were greater than those in "the whole Confederacy." Other supplies included vast quartermaster stores such as cattle and horses, and subsistence supplies similar to those captured at Front Royal.

As Jackson retired up the Valley after Banks' defeat at Winchester on May 25, 1862, Major Harman removed vast commissary and quartermaster supplies from Winchester to the rear without the loss of a single wagon or horse. There was a saying among the troops in the Valley army, Captain Garber noted, that when the wagon trains were in a tight place, "never mind, the old major will bring them out all right if hard work and swearing will do it."

On June 17, 1862, after resting his troops near Brown's Gap following the Battle of Port Republic, General Jackson secretly slipped out of the Valley to join the Army of Northern Virginia in the fighting around Richmond in late June and early July of 1862.

Worn out by the strenuous Valley campaign and the fighting around Richmond, Major Harman secured a furlough for six weeks, rejoining the army after the Battle of Cedar Mountain on August 9, 1862.

Crossing the Potomac at Edwards Ferry in the Maryland campaign of September 1862, Jackson found the ford completely blocked by a wagon train. Turning to Major Harman, the General ordered him to clear the ford.

Harman dashed in among the wagoners, kicking the mules, and apparently [the] inextricable mass of wagons, and in the voice of a stentor, poured out a volume of oaths that would have excited the admiration of the most scientific mule-driver . . . The mule drivers were frightened and swore as best they could but far below the major's standard. The mules caught the inspiration from the chorus of familiar words, and all at once made a break for the Maryland shore, and in five minutes the ford was cleared.

On the retreat from Sharpsburg the army crossed the Potomac at Boteler's Ford below Shepherdstown, during the night of September 19, 1862, and Harman again was the hero of the crossing. An eyewitness said:

It is due to Major Harman of the General's staff to say that his prompt decision and unwearied efforts contributed greatly to the rapid and successful passage of the river. Sitting on his horse in the middle of the stream, cooling himself with a palm leaf fan, directing the artillery and wagon trains and the troops, he seemed the perfect picture of a quartermaster in chief, and one could but admire the nonchalance with which he would rip at this driver and storm at that [one]. He won promotion if he does not get it. By this single ford we crossed our artillery, wagons, and troops in twelve hours, without any interruptions of the army.

In his official report of the Maryland campaign, Jackson wrote that the "promptitude and success with which this movement [crossing the Potomac] was effected reflect the highest credit upon the skill and energy of Major Harman." And Charles J. Faulkner, who was later a member of Jackson's staff, wrote Captain A. M. Garber that

all of [Jackson's] battle reports . . . contained notices of Major John A. Harman but, according to my best recollections, it was the energy and good management displayed by John A. Harman in crossing the Potomac River after the battle of Sharpsburg that elicited the highest encomiums of the commanding general.

Henry Kyd Douglas stated that

the genius of the retreat [from Sharpsburg] was really Major John A. Harman . . . big-bodied, big-voiced, untiring, fearless of man or devil, who would have ordered Jackson himself out of the way if necessary to obey Jackson's orders.

During the interval between the Battle of Sharpsburg (September 17, 1862) and the Battle of Fredericksburg (December 13, 1862) Major Harman was again granted a leave of absence. During his absence, his plan

to systematizing the Quartermaster Department of the second corps was put into effect by Captain Garber, who was the acting corps quartermaster. In addition to the daily subsistence reports which finally reached General Jackson's headquarters, daily forage reports on the number and condition of the horses and even the condition of the teamsters' clothing were handed in through the same channels.

* * *

On May 10, 1863, General Jackson's death made it necessary for General Lee to reorganize the army into three corps, a reorganization which he had previously considered, believing that the army was too large for only two corps. General James Longstreet remained in command of the first corps, and to Generals R. S. Ewell and A. P. Hill were assigned the command responsibilities of the second and third corps, respectively.

In the Gettysburg campaign, Ewell's second corps, composed largely of Jackson's old corps, was designated by General Lee as the vanguard of the army, and one of its primary objectives was to collect supplies for the entire army in Pennsylvania, which General Lee expected to find in abundance. The first fruits of Ewell's second corps' advance into Pennsylvania were 23 pieces of rifled artillery, 300 wagonloads of commissary stores, and a large amount of quartermaster supplies—all captured at Winchester. At Martinsburg 6,000 bushels of grain and quartermaster and commissary stores "in great quantity" were taken.

Colonel Arthur Lyon Fremantle, an English military observer who accompanied General Longstreet's corps in the Gettysburg campaign, recorded in his diary of June 27, 1863 that Ewell, after advancing rapidly into Pennsylvania, "has already sent back great quantities of horses, mules, wagons, beeves, and other necessities. He is now at or beyond Carlisle, Pennsylvania, laying the country under contribution, making Pennsylvania support the war, instead of poor, used-up, and worn-out Virginia."

On the morning of June 23, 1863, General Robert E. Rodes' division of Ewell's corps entered Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and an hour later General Ewell arrived in the town. Establishing his headquarters at the Franklin Hotel, he immediately summoned the businessmen to meet him in the lobby of the National Bank, which was near his headquarters. Major Harman, along with Major Wells Hawks and Lieutenant Colonel William Allan (commissary and ordnance officers of Ewell's staff), soon appeared before a committee of businessmen and presented their requisitions for supplies. Major Harman's were:

5,000 suits of clothes, including hats, boots (with each suit); 100 good saddles; 100 good bridles; 5,000 bushels of grains, corn or oats; 10,000 lbs. of sole leather; 10,000 horseshoes; 400 lbs. of horseshoe nails; also, use of the printing office and two printers to appear at once. All articles will be delivered at the Court House by 3:00 p.m. today, and grains by 6:00 p.m. today.

Doubtless, while most of the supplies demanded by the Confederates had been removed upon the news of their approach to Chambersburg, it

is impossible to estimate the value of the property purchased or seized in Pennsylvania. However, Jacob Hoke, a merchant of Chambersburg, stated, "This much can be said, that many persons who had toiled and economized for years to gain an honorable support were reduced to poverty." Hoke did acknowledge, however, that the appropriation of property by the Confederates was "in accordance with the rules of war, and in conformity with General Lee's [humane] order regulating the taking of property."

From July 1 through July 3, 1863 General Lee had failed to achieve at Gettysburg the military decision which might have affected the war politically and, on July 4, he withdrew to Virginia.

In the retreat from Gettysburg to Williamsport, Maryland, Major Harman conducted the second corps' wagon trains—over 15 miles long—during the night of July 4 with only a squadron of cavalry as an escort and in 24 hours, though harassed by the enemy's cavalry, arrived at Williamsport with the loss of only 15 wagons.

When the army reached Williamsport, General Lee found that the pontoon bridge near Falling Waters, which he had constructed while en route to Gettysburg, had been destroyed by the enemy. The Potomac, swollen by heavy rains, was unfordable. For four days and nights Lee's position was precarious, with a swollen river in his rear and the enemy approaching on his front. However, General Meade's slow approach enabled Lee to prepare a strong defense, covering both Williamsport and Hagerstown, until he could establish communication with Virginia. Impatient at the delay in constructing the pontoon bridge, he directed the Chief Quartermaster of the Army of Northern Virginia, Lieutenant Colonel John L. Corley to put Major John A. Harman in charge of the work, remarking that

without Harman's extraordinary energy to conduct the work, the pontoon bridge would not be done for several days. Harman took charge and by tearing down warehouses on the canal [which paralleled the river] he got enough joists to build the [pontoon] boats, and in twenty-four hours had enough floated down the river to construct a pontoon bridge.

During the night of July 13, the first and third corps and the army's immense wagon trains crossed the pontoon bridge near Falling Waters while the troops of the second corps had the hard and difficult assignment of fording the Potomac at Williamsport. As the advanced troops of this corps, General R. E. Rodes' division, approached the ford, they momentarily hesitated until Major Sandie Pendleton rode up and shouted, "Boys, General Lee knew none but the old second corps would dare cross here."

Captain Garber declared that Major Harman, by working in and out of the water for four days and nights building the pontoon bridge and keeping the ferry boats going while passing the prisoners, wounded, and sick across the river, brought on again an old complaint, and he was granted a furlough of several weeks.

On September 13, 1863, shortly after Major Harman had recovered sufficiently to resume his army duties, Lieutenant Colonel John Corley was granted a sick leave for 30 days an extension of time if necessary. During his absence Major Harman assumed his duties as Quartermaster of the Army of Northern Virginia.

At the opening of the Wilderness campaign in early May 1864, Lieutenant Colonel Corley resumed his duties, and Major Harman, though he had been assigned as a chief forage master in Tennessee and Virginia, returned to the second corps, now commanded by General Jubal A. Early. When the corps, now called the Valley Army, was sent to the Shenandoah Valley to prevent its devastation by the enemy, Harman accompanied it as its quartermaster.

With the complete disintegration of the Valley Army after its disastrous defeats by General Philip Sheridan at Winchester (September 19, 1864), Fisher's Hill (September 28, 1864), and Cedar Creek (October 19, 1864), Major Harman then resumed the duties of chief forage master at Dublin, Virginia. He remained in this position until the retreat of the Army of Northern Virginia from Petersburg in early April 1865, when General Lee sent for him. Upon reaching Danville, Virginia, en route to Lee's army, he learned of the surrender at Appomattox on April 9. When Major Harman, broken in health, returned to his home near Staunton "with not one cent of public money sticking to his hands," Captain Garber declared that he left the army "with the seeds of death" in his body, which Harman had contracted by the toughest kind of service.

* * *

For a short period after the war Major Harman was engaged in farming and then he served as manager of the Rockbridge Baths, a popular summer resort near Lexington.

Convinced that the South should accept the results of the war, Major Harman joined the Republican Party in 1869 and thereby subjected himself to angry and bitter criticism. At a Republican meeting at Staunton in February 1869, which was composed of both whites and Negroes, he was elected chairman. Upon taking the chair, Harman admitted that he "felt very much embarrassment" and that his position was "a novel one."

The editor of the *Lexington Gazette And Banner* was shocked.

PICTURE IT! THINK OF IT!

Major John A. Harman, Stonewall Jackson's quartermaster, presiding at a Radical Republican caucus with a convicted . . . thief at his side as vice-president of its meeting! We think we can now see Jubal A. Early raising his hand in holy horror, exclaiming, O, tempora! O, mores!

Later, in the spring of 1869, at a Republican rally at Staunton, when Major Harman introduced H. H. Wells, a carpetbagger and gubernatorial candidate, the editor of the *Spectator* mused, "If conscious of the part now acted by his chief quartermaster, how deeply [troubled] must be the sainted spirit of Stonewall Jackson."

In December of 1873, President U. S. Grant appointed Major Harman Postmaster of Staunton, but he lived only a short time to enjoy the emoluments of office, as he died on July 19, 1874.

The editor of the *Vindicator* appropriately characterized John A. Harman, his life-long friend, as "a man of strong convictions and uncompromising in his beliefs, caring little for the opinions of others."

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF MAJOR MASON GREEN

(Not everyone reaching the age of 92 years has the clear faculties and keen perception of Major Mason Green. His excellent recall of names, dates and local happenings are delightfully reminiscent of a day that is past. Ed.)



Major Mason Green

Photograph by David Bushman

"I was born in Charlottesville, Virginia on February 18, 1880. My first job as a small boy was driving cows, owned by the local residents who had no pasturage, to a grazing place outside the city. Several other boys and myself would drive them out each morning and then bring them back in the evening. On hot summer days we would get mighty thirsty. Once when we were searching for some water we found a tiny stream running out the side of a bank. We took sticks and dug a hole to catch the water and let it clear. Every time we went there after that we would dig the hole a little deeper. Later someone sunk a barrel in the hole we had widened and it became known as Fry's

Spring. It was then developed into a park, with a pavilion and other entertainment facilities. Tracks were laid and street cars, pulled by mules, made the trip from town several times each day during the summer months. Trolley cars came into use some years later.

"Vinegar Hill" was another Charlottesville location that received its name from a particular incident. There was an Irishman who kept a store at the top of Main Street hill and sold cider. During the apple season the University boys would go there to buy it by the drink. On one occasion when the students came for their regular refreshment the cider had turned to vinegar. Angered over this turn of affairs, the boys rolled the barrel out in the street, knocked out the bung and let the cider-vinegar run down the street. After that it was always known as "Vinegar Hill."

I well remember the Sunday morning of 1895 when the Rotunda of the University burned. At the time I was "holding horses" at the Episcopal Church — that was bringing the carriages and horses up to the steps of a small platform and holding them while a lady stepped into her carriage or a gentleman mounted. Everyone left church and went to the fire. Not so much damage was done to the outside of the building but the inside was ruined from the flames and water. I remember how the books and papers were scattered over the lawn. It was a very exciting day in Charlottesville.

After the death of my parents I came to Staunton. That was in 1901. I first stayed at a colored hotel, located on the present site of the municipal parking lot on Augusta and New Streets. My first job was shoe shine boy at the Eakleton Hotel and my pay was from shining shoes and the tips I received. I think Mr. L. Ware was the manager.

Later I was employed by Mr. Thomas Kivlighan who operated a restaurant, bar room and bowling alley in a large weather-boarded building of two stories that stood on the corner of Johnson and New Streets, the present site of the Beverley Hotel.

For awhile I worked for the city. Prior to the early 1900s, East Beverley Street (or Gospel Hill as it was known then) was much steeper than now, the street being almost even with the houses. It was about this time that it was dug down to its present level. Most of the stone used for the city's grading was then taken from a quarry on the present site of Lee High School. The face of the cliff forming a ready made bank for the stadium

seats. Stone was also taken from "Wayt's field," on Lewis Street. I helped pour some of the first asphalt when the city made the change from brick sidewalks to those of concrete.

The city's water supply was piped from Gypsy Hill Park Springs and the City's water works occupied the present brick building at the park's entrance, at that time.

After I was married, my wife and I purchased a house on Academy Street that stood where the Mary Baldwin tennis courts are now. Later we went to New York, where we stayed for sixteen years.

Twelve of these years I was employed as butler to Judge J. O'Sullivan, of the Supreme Court. While in his service I had the honor of waiting on Mr. Woodrow Wilson when he was a dinner guest of Judge and Mrs. O'Sullivan. This was following his nomination and before his election as President. Before their guests arrived the Judge remarked that one was from my home town of Staunton, Virginia, and had been nominated for president. None of the Wilsons in Staunton that I knew had ever been in politics, I told him.

I was in Judge O'Sullivan's employ when he sat on the famous Standford White - William K. Thaw murder case. Every day the newspapers would be filled with the accounts of the trial. I remember Evelyn Nesbit Thaw—who was the cause of all the trouble—as a mighty pretty lady.

Almost every summer the O'Sullivan family would go to Europe. Then my wife and I would come to Staunton for a visit. We would always return to New York in time to get the house and grounds in good order before the family's arrival.

Then we decided to return to Staunton to live. I remember a street carnival was being held in town about that time. Tents, a merry-go-round, tight rope walkers, fortune tellers and the usual entertainment features were all up and down the streets on Beverley, Augusta and Johnson—there were no cars then to speak of.

In those days no wine, beer or whiskey was allowed to be sold on the west side of Beverley Street. It could only be purchased on Johnson Street, then popularly known as "Irish Alley."

The Augusta County Courthouse was somewhat smaller than it is at the present. The front lawn, I remember, was on a level with the street. It was shaded by tall trees and with benches placed about it was a nice little park. A large iron watering fountain for horses was nearby.

There was a blockyard on Tams Street that was operated by Mr. Walter Johnson, father of the late Godwin G. Johnson. The cement blocks for Kable's School — more familiar to the present day as the Staunton Military Academy were made there. I was the first cook to prepare a meal in the new school's kitchen and continued to work there for some years.

When I moved to my present residence on the Springhill Road there were only ten houses in the area. The toll gate was only a short distance down the road. I operated a service station near my home for some years, and at one time I had a store and restaurant on Green Street.

I have also helped harvest crops on the farm now occupied by the development known as Gardiner's Addition. Whenever I have felt in the need of an outing I would walk across the fields to Middle River and go fishing. Mostly my luck was very good.

In my lifetime I have tried in many ways to make an honest living. Now I take things a little easier. Mostly I just sit on the porch and enjoy the sunshine and the flowers and watch the world pass by."

may the 15th 1767
 then weighed by marlin humbles constable of books
 gave 462 pounds of hemp ^{neat} clean and bright
 for some purpose

This Day I duly weighed for Samuel m^r. Lane
 1547 of hemp. Given under my hand this 15th of
 may 1767 John Davis

Augusta Jo wit weighed for Andrew
 Taylor one thousand and sixty six
 pounds winter rotted hemp
 Certified under my hand this 15 Day
 of may 1767 Thomas Vance
 Constable

Weighed for M^r. Samuel Henderson one thousand
 and ninety nine pounds of Hemp Winter Rotted
 May 16th 1767 Saml. M^r. Dowell

may 16th 1767 weigh for m^r. Tho^s. Lewis
 Two thousand two hundred & eighty
 four pounds of Hemp

Felix Gilbert

Original copies of hemp certificates in Augusta County Courthouse

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TAX AID

Katherine G. Bushman

Among the little known loose papers in the office of the County Clerk of Augusta County is a bundle of 100 hemp certificates dating from 1764 through 1769. The greater number are for the years 1765, 1766, 1767. Varied in size, handwriting and spelling, they are a vestige of the "money crop" of the Valley before the American Revolution.

In colonial America, as today, taxes were difficult to meet. We have the withholding tax as a help in paying income tax. In the 1760s, there were two aids for paying taxes: 1) a bounty on wolves (one wolf head would almost pay all the taxes a man owed), and 2) hemp certificates. Hemp growing was encouraged in this part of Virginia not only by Parliament, but also by the Virginia House of Burgesses. It was encouraged so that Great Britain would be self-sufficient in naval stores. In February, 1745, the House of Burgesses added to the effort of stimulating production by allowing the equivalent of \$1 per hundredweight to be allowed toward taxes.

The earliest reference to hemp growing in Augusta County records is found in 1762 when Thomas Lewis was granted a certificate for "winter-rotted, clean, bright hemp" in the amount of 3,393 pounds. The hemp certificates, issued by the county court through its agents the constables, were receivable for taxes. The court order books, abstracted by Lyman Chalkley, have many references to the issuance of hemp certificates. Sometimes the names are given—several times he states only "Hemp certificates" or "Many hemp certificates." The names and weights are listed in the original court order books of Augusta County.

The growers listed would be found today not only in Augusta County proper, but in Rockbridge, Bath, Rockingham, Pendleton, Botetourt and Greenbrier counties—at that time all a part of Augusta County. It was not until 1770 that Botetourt County became a reality as the first county set off from the vast area of Augusta County.

In today's world, so full of the problem of drugs, we do not think of hemp as a useful crop—marijuana comes to mind rather than rope for which it was used. After the American Revolution, hemp declined as a crop in Virginia, but is found as a money

crop in the "West"—the plantations on the Missouri River in what is known as "Little Dixie," were hemp plantations. A battle fought at Lexington, Missouri, during the Civil War, was known as the Battle of the Hemp Bales since they were used as fortification. With the coming of steamships, the growing of hemp declined even further. During World War II, farmers of the Valley of Virginia were encouraged to grow hemp once again.

The following list of names of hemp growers comes from the bundle of papers in the Augusta County Clerk's office. The year, date, name of the grower, number of pounds of hemp, and the constable who weighed it are given. All names have been spelled as they are recorded on the original papers.

| Date | Grower | Amount | Constable |
|---------------|-------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| | George Speairs | 733 | John Ray |
| 12 May..... | William Moore | 363 | William McCandless |
| 23 May..... | William Alexander | 654 | William Bowyer |
| 16 May..... | John Steuart | 1050 | James Coulter |
| 10 May..... | John McClure | 724 | William Paxton |
| 10 May..... | James Edmunson | 390 | William Paxton |
| 10 May..... | James McLung | 440 | William Paxton |
| 9 May 1764 | John Paxton | 2110 | Jas Trimble |
| May 1765 | James Culton | 314 | James Coulter |
| 23 Sept 1765 | James Craig | 834½ | William Fleming, justice |
| 7 November | | | |
| 1765 | John Finley | 1234 | Zech Smith |
| 1766 | | | |
| 14 Jany | Jos Gamil | 23 | Geo Mathews |
| 14 Jany | Jos Gamel | "800, one quarter and fore lbs" | |
| | | Robert Rodgers | |
| 14 Jany | Wm Paton & Jos Gamil | "one hundred, 3 quarters and five poun" | |
| | | Robert Rodgers | |
| 16 Jany | Jno C. Frazier | 362 | Felix Gilbert |
| 28 March | John King | 250 | Francis Erwin |
| 20 May | James Craig | 2428 | Felix Gilbert |
| 10 June | Robert Culton | 611 | James Colter |
| 10 June | James Culton | 490 | James Colter |
| 12 June | John Craig | 962 | Felix Gilbert |
| 19 December | Geo Capliner | 649 | Felix Gilbert |
| 1767 | | | |
| 16 Feby | Robert Dunwoody | 414 | William Fowler |
| 31 March | Wm Skillern | 281 | Robert Rodgers |
| 10 March | John Handley | 108 | Samuel Moor |
| 17 March | John Hanley | 150 | Samuel Moor |
| 18 March | Jno Dailey | 1360 | William Paxton |
| 21 March | Arthur Hamilton | 516 | Samp. Mathews |

| | | | |
|----------|------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 27 March | John Greenlee | 1738 | Saml McDowell |
| 11 May | John Greenlee | 858 | Saml McDowell |
| 30 March | James Trotter | 859 | William Fowler |
| 8 April | John Dunlap | 1300 | Will ^m Jameson |
| 8 April | Robert Culton | 255 | William McCandless |
| 11 April | Wm McKee | 642 | James Young |
| 21 April | James Thompson | 407 | Felix Gilbert |
| 27 April | Robert Carlisle | 487 | Felix Gilbert |
| 27 April | James Moore | 410 | Samp. Mathews |
| 30 April | Abraham Smith | 594 | William Fowler |
| 4 May | James Rodgers | "900, 25 quarters" | Robert Rodgers |
| 6 May | Arthur McClure | 1646 | Chas. Campbell |
| 7 May | Nathaniel Evins | 1746 | William Paxton |
| 11 May | John McCreery | 816 | Hugh Hicklin |
| 12 May | James McCrary | 1900 | William Kenedy |
| 12 May | Moses McCluer | 408 | Arch ^d Alexander |
| 12 May | William McKemey | 960 | Charles Campbell |
| 13 May | Hugh Diver | 835 | Benjamin Erwin |
| 14 May | John Moore | 1886 | Rich ^d Woods |
| 14 May | James Telford | 400 | William McCandless |
| 14 May | David Dryden | 479 | Thomas Vance |
| 15 May | John Gay | 673 | William Jameson |
| 15 May | Alexander McClure | 417 | Moses McClure |
| 15 May | Alexander McClure | 910 | Chas. Campbell |
| 15 May | George Spears | 1571 | Martin Humble |
| 15 May | Wm Dunlap | 462 | Martin Humble |
| 15 May | Samuel McCune | 1547 | John Patrick |
| 15 May | Andrew Taylor | 1099 | Sam'l McDowell |
| 16 May | Samuel Henderson | 1066 | Thomas Vance |
| 16 May | Thos Lewis | 2284 | Felix Gilbert |
| 16 May | John Estill | 902 | Hugh Hicklin |
| 16 May | James Scott | 2047 | James Arbuckel |
| 17 May | John Gillmore | 2261 | Thomas Vance |
| 17 May | John Thompson | 1065 | Thomas Vance |
| 17 May | Andrew McCampbell | 1158 | Thomas Vance |
| 17 May | Thomas Kirkpatrick | 1784 | Thomas Vance |
| 17 May | John Beatey | 1905 | Thomas Vance |
| 17 May | Wm Gillmore | 1345 | Thomas Vance |
| 17 May | Charles Allison | 598 | Chas Campbell |
| 17 May | Andrew McCampbell | 916 | Thomas Vance |
| 17 May | John Willey | 1875 | Thomas Vance |
| 17 May | Robert Erwin | 1271 | Thomas Vance |
| 18 May | James Gay | 1000 | William Jameson |
| 18 May | Jas Berry & Jno McCutchin | 408 | Samp. Mathews |
| 18 May | Will ^m Alexander | 1866 | Arch ^d Alexander |
| 18 May | Samuel Paxton | 832 | Arch ^d Alexander |
| 18 May | Walther Smiley | 709 | Saml McDowell |
| 18 May | Michael Coulter | 650 | James Coulter |
| 18 May | Robert Stephens | 1776 | Abm Smith |

| | | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 18 May | William Reaoh | 1650 | James Coulter |
| 18 May | Thomas Renkin | 677 | John Patrick |
| 18 May | Samuel McClure | 857 | Jas Trimble & Charles Campbell |
| 18 May | James Steuart | 400 | James Coulter |
| 18 May | Joseph Walker | 3270 | Saml McDowell |
| 18 May | Joseph Bell | 573 | Robert Rodgers |
| 18 May | Frances Alexander | 1107 | John Patrick |
| 19 May | John Ramsey | 1810 | John Patrick |
| 19 May | James Campbell | 506 | Chas Campbell |
| 19 May | George Craford | 731 | John Patrick |
| 19 May | Wm Mathews & Jas Wilson | 15-1-24 | Samp. Mathews |
| 19 May | James Moore | 1325 | James Coulter |
| 19 May | William McClung | 730 | Daniel Lyle |
| 19 May | David Kinhead | 13-0-13 | Samp. Mathews |
| 19 May | Patrick McCullom | 3961 | William Paxton |
| 20 May | Andrew Evans | 902 | Samp. Mathews |
| 20 May | Geo Moffett | 12-1 | James Steveson |
| 20 May | Richard Mathews | 660 | Samp. Mathews |
| 20 May | Joseph McNeely | 1900 | Thomas Vance |
| 20 May | Babtist McNabb | 1300 | Thomas Vance |
| 20 May | Isaac Anderson | 783 | James Coulter |
| 21 May | John Handley | 126 | Samp. Mathews |
| 22 May 1769 | John Tate | 891 | Saml McDowell |
| 17 June | Wm Campbell | 727 | Samuel Blackwood |

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OLD HOMES OF AUGUSTA COUNTY

The Pioneer Home of the Kerr Family

Gladys B. Clem

What is probably one of the oldest dwellings in Augusta County, in continuous occupation since it was built, is the old Kerr home located on Rt. 612 at the confluence of Christian's Creek, Long Meadow Run and Middle River. The present owners being Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Landrum.

According to tradition, James Kerr, the progenitor of the family, is said to have emigrated to Virginia from Pennsylvania in the 1730's. As water was always the prime necessity of the early pioneers, he selected a site for his cabin and a mill on the rich river bottom lands, watered by the three streams.

Finding this location — possibly by sad experience — would be too easily flooded, he built his permanent home on a high bank overlooking Middle River, its present site. The dwelling was said to have been started in 1732 and completed some years later.

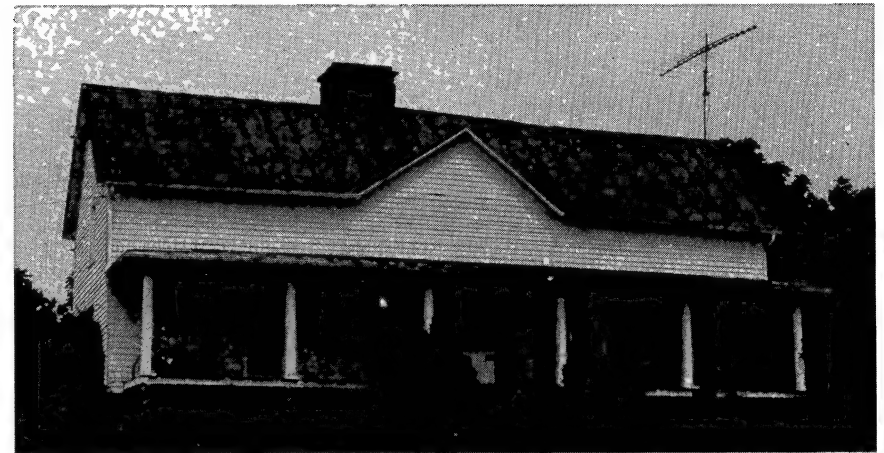
The fact that it is built on almost solid rock, perhaps, is the explanation for its excellent preservation after 240 years of habitation. Although numerous structural changes have been made through the years, much of the original detail can be seen.

A cellar, hewn out of almost solid stone, has its only entrance through a trap door on the porch. It must have provided perfect refrigeration for the great amount of food necessary for the large Kerr family.

The logs for this permanent home were selected with painstaking care, as none measure less than 10 inches in thickness. The large center stone chimney has two fireplaces, each opening into separate rooms. The chimney is massive, being four feet thick and eight feet in width. Evidently the west room was used as a kitchen as an oven was built in this fireplace. This center chimney is unique, as most dwellings of this period show the chimney built on the outside. A six foot back-log could be burned in either fireplace, insuring snug warmth for the family during the coldest weather.



Detail showing entrance to narrow stairway and open beams in Kerr home
Photograph by David Bushman



The old Kerr home on the banks of Middle River. Said to have been built 1730-1740.
Photograph by David Bushman

The outside doors were made doubly thick and the first upstairs windows mere peep holes, it is said. Both door and window frames are hand pegged. At one time two steep stairways — inclosed behind miniature crusade doors — led to several upper rooms. The stairs were narrow — almost ladder-like — and wound around the thick stone chimney. Much of the original construction was devised that in case of Indian attack the family could find safety inside the dwelling and in the last extremity could defend themselves in one of the upstairs rooms whose only entrance was the narrow stairway. As only one person could enter at a time any savage attempting it could be killed by a blow on the head. In later years this stair was closed as was the fireplace in the living room.

The original flooring is still in use. The exposed ceiling beams, handiwork of some long dead carpenter, point to careful workmanship but poor measuring — no two beams are the same.

In an old photograph of the home, taken nearly a century ago, shows a log building to the east of the house. This was supposedly used as a kitchen at one time. In the days of fireplace cooking, "summer kitchens" were in popular use. Meals prepared in an outside building eliminated the expanding heat from an open fireplace and thus the living quarters remained cool.

The history of this old home parallels an interesting event incidental to Augusta County's initial beginnings.

In August of 1736 a surveying party, consisting of Sir William Beverley, of Essex County, John and Richard Randolph,

and John Robinson, all from the tidewater section, accompanied by Thomas Lewis, (the son of John Lewis), the county surveyor and his helpers, arrived at the juncture of the three streams mentioned above, that had come to be called "Kerr's Point." Governor William Gooch was soon to grant them ownership to the enormous tract of 118,491 acres that was to become known as the Beverley Patent or the more familiar "Beverley Manor," situated about center of modern Augusta County.

A slab of sandstone,* on which one of the men carved a circle inclosing a cross, was placed to mark the point of the first day's surveying. Wearied from the heat, the swarms of stinging gnats and having to constantly push their way through the almost trackless wilderness must have left the group receptive to food and a night's lodging. It is said they accepted with alacrity Mr. Kerr's hospitable invitation for rest and lodging for the night.

After a good night's sleep and a hearty breakfast the next morning, the men plunged in to the rugged wilderness again to continue the survey.

In 1908, one hundred and seventy-two years later, this stone marker was located by the late William McCue, having been covered by growth and heavy silt from the high waters at various times. The marker was placed in the Augusta County Courthouse. In 1913 it was mounted on a stone pedestal, with a suitable inscription, and placed in front of the Courthouse by the Beverley Manor Chapter of the D.A.R.

Seven generations of the Kerr family have occupied the old home before it was sold to another owner in 1953.

James Kerr, the pioneer, as a responsible citizen, assumed his share of leadership in both church and county affairs. He was an elder and active member in the Tinkling Spring congregation and one of the first county justices. He lived out his days in the home he built on the high bank of Middle River and died there in 1770.

If the proposed government dam becomes a reality the old Kerr home and much of the land adjoining will be included in the flooded area.

References:

Mrs. Dorothea Kerr Swisher

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**The Story Behind the Stone*, Dr. James Sprunt, Vol. 6 No.

1 Spring Issue Augusta Historical Bulletin

Augusta County Court Proceedings of TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Charles Lewis qualifies as Lieut. Colonel of County Militia.

— — — —

Robert Lyle bound over towards Moses Trimble to keep the peace and his name be stricken from list of recommendations as sheriff.

— — — —

Called Court on Frederick Speer charged with horse stealing. Bound over to Grand Jury.

— — — —

Mary Thompson, a soldier's wife, with small children allowed 15 £. (pounds)

— — — —

Moses Henshaw ordered confined as a deserter until he can be delivered to some Continental officer.

— — — —

The last Court held under authority of English King George III, May 1, 1776.

— — — —

The first Court held under authority of the Commonwealth, July 16, 1776.

— — — —

The Parish Church at Staunton (Trinity Episcopal) was finished early in 1763. It was accepted by the vestry June 25. Two members of the vestry — Sampson Matthews and John Poage — voted against receiving the building, they "supposing the brick in the church to be insufficient."

— — — —

Steven Halston having disturbed the Court by fighting and abusing the sheriff, was taken into custody. Ordered that sheriff pursue him and he be admitted to jail. Ordered also that he be fined 15 £ (pounds) for contempt and that he find surety for his good behavior to be paid a pound a month.

— — — —

John Lambert and Jane, his wife, to be summoned for not bringing up their child properly.

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